

[The City Greek]
The People of Greece

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An additional resource of the city Greek after the fall of the Byzantine Empire was the respect which other peoples paid to Greek cultural traditions. The city Greek could rest at times on the laurels of his ancestors, or he could command a situation by assuming superiority based on the glory of his past. Furthermore, when days looked darkest, from late in the eighteenth century on down, he could count on the support of classic-minded benefactors of the Western world. There remained also the implication of the term *barbarian* for the non-Greek; this did not die out with ancient Greece but continued to apply to other Balkan Christian groups which the city Greek assiduously tried to Hellenize. The city was dominant here, too, for this Hellenization proceeded outward from the city. The contact point was usually the Greek priest, with his loyalty to the urban Byzantine tradition, in a Slavic, Vlach, or Albanian village before the rise of national churches in the Balkans during the last century.

This, then, is the proud and rich tradition of the contemporary city Greek — a tradition kept alive by the schools, the church, and by the admiration of many non-Greek scholars seeking to trace the origin of Western democracy to its pristine source in the pre-Christian Greek city-state.

Also helping to keep the tradition alive are the few leisured families, some of whom have highly placed relatives scattered throughout the continent of Europe, as well as the growing intelligentsia and the merchants for whom the city is a natural habitat. Even the urban laborer, whether a skilled worker in a textile plant or an unskilled hod carrier on a construction project, has many of the same traits as the members of the middle and upper classes: in his cafés and *tavernas*, the worker reveals the same zest for life as well as some of the same preoccupations with his daily lot. Yet members of the new intelligentsia, Athenian politicians, and businessmen still have many relatives in the provinces with whom they are in frequent contact and to whom city ways are steadily spreading.

The city Greek's supreme self-confidence, arising out of these traditions of power and glory, is shown in almost any discussion overheard at the cafés where the Greek urbanite meets his friends to argue about anything and everything.⁶ His gestures are as eloquent as his words, as Robert P. T. Coffin said so well in his poem, "Greek Hands Are the Greek":

Greek hands are tongues,
They are tails of dogs;
They are also Plato's
Dialogues.⁷

Completely sure that his ideas on public questions are as sound as those of any cabinet minister or newspaper editor, the city Greek takes great pleasure in expounding these ideas.⁸ An incident of half a century ago, at the time of the Russo-Japanese War, is still told with amusement by Athe-

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[The City Greek]
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Athenians know more about the French Riviera than the rural regions of their own country, and others of them live so entirely in an urban world that they take the Greek villager for granted, which in many ways is worse than ignoring him.⁹ Yet such city Greeks, once this attitude is pointed out to them, are the first to admit their ignorance and to start another discussion on the novel subject of the Greek village, from which so many of them derive.

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But there are somber shades as well to the sparkle and dash of Greek wit. To persuade many of the Greek officials to move from talk to action would have its difficulties and would prove particularly frustrating to an American or Britisher who had a special job to complete in a given period of time. It is also probably true that, given the present state of the Greek economy, almost any official is more interested in holding his job than in pressing toward real accomplishment if this might antagonize those above or below him in the bureaucratic hierarchy. Some of these officials, native sons of the village and not yet sure of themselves in the urban environment, spend disproportionate amounts of time in mending their political fences or in sitting on them, a pose easy for many Greeks to assume while rationalizing their problems away.

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The qualities of city Greeks which have been mentioned here — self-confidence, intellectual curiosity, philosophizing a problem away, preoccupation with maintaining and improving one's position, and an awareness of a great cultural tradition — are endearing to some while irritating to others.¹⁰ The urban Greeks who seem best to embody the heritage from the past and to approach with sincerity their problems of today are those who have taken time to know both the city and village Greece of the 1960's. Sharing the difficulties faced by their neighbors in the city, they also understand the grave readjustments occurring in the countryside.

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THE ISLAND AND SEAFARING GREEKS

The tradition of the city, ancient but still tremendously significant today, has mingled with the equally ancient traditions of the sea in the formation of modern Greece. Odysseus still lives in the Aegean and Ionian Islands today, not only in the resourcefulness with which he approached his problems but in the extent of his voyages. The seafarers are primarily the islanders, and Greece has many islands.¹¹ Although the sea, never more than eighty-odd miles distant from any point in Greece, has an indirect influence on the horizons of all Greeks, it is the direct source of livelihood to many islanders. Whether as fishermen or merchant seamen, they must study its moods in the same way that the city merchant studies the market or the peasant the condition of the soil. The seamen become so cosmopolitan through their voyages that they feel at home in many port towns with people speaking many languages. This at-homeness in the world extends to

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[The Island and Seafaring Greeks]

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Survival

184 members of their families, who also have a sense of being a part of the wide world.

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The true fisherman or merchant seaman looks down upon agricultural pursuits, although many of his fellow islanders living a few miles inland are farmers like their compatriots on the mainland. But even the sons of these island farmers are directed into the navy by law, with the result that the navy fills its requirements from the best of them and leaves the unused balance for the army or air force.

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An island, by its very nature, is for its inhabitants a comprehensible universe. Its people supposedly become much alike, giving rise to the belief of Athenians that the people from a certain island make loyal and dependable servants, that the people from another island are petty thieves and deceitful, and those from another island are hard workers. One island, according to Athenians, seemed to be inhabited entirely by delightful "screwballs," because dozens of jokes were supposed to have originated there. The impression of the alikeness of all people on an island is fostered by the fact that islanders away from home tend to stand together with their fellow islanders against all comers.¹² For instance, one of our Greek neighbors, obliged to tell the drunken husband of her maid never to come in her yard again, felt it necessary also to discharge the laundress, "because she comes from the same island as that terrible man and would take his side even though she knew he was in the wrong." The Greek housewife also explained that people from that island were reputed to be "violent and wild" and she was taking no chances, even though the laundress hardly knew the offending man. No Greek servant or neighbor questioned this action as anything but logical and necessary.

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Island villages, as later discussion will show, differ architecturally from and are in general much cleaner than the other villages of Greece. While this cleanliness gives the impression of a higher level of living, actually on many of the islands people are close to the poverty line much of the time because of inadequate local resources and the need to buy elsewhere, with what little money they have, those products not available at home. A shipwreck can bring the death of the family head or, if not such tragedy, at least economic ruin.

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Despite the fact that each island has its own unique flavor and stands out in popular opinion as a well-defined little social world, there is a way of life common to all of the islands. The beliefs about the sea, the diet, the way ships' crews are formed, the responsibility which the ship captain's wife feels for the families of the crew while the men are at sea, and the varying political alignments would, along with other lesser features, set off the seafarer from his fellow countrymen in degree if not as a distinct type.

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To talk at dusk with the fishing-boat crews as they get ready for their long night's work or as they untangle and dry their nets along the beach in

184 tion but because they take pride in making the best of what they have. Most
157 of the meager sums of money they do have are probably sent in from a
[829] son who has a job outside the mountains. Government programs of supply-
[434] ing food are also periodically necessary to support these hardy people.

There are two historical factors accounting for the hardness assigned to the mountain people over the plains dwellers. Before independence, the plainsmen, particularly in Thessaly and Macedonia, were attached to the estates of absentee Turkish landlords and, according to travelers' accounts, lived in tenancy approaching serfdom, despised by the more independent Greeks of the mountains. Further, the plains villagers suffered for centuries from the terrible malaria of the lowlands; drained of vitality, they were probably actually poorer physical specimens than the peasants of the more healthy uplands.

184 As various features of the peasant's life unfold, particularly in a later
● 186 discussion of village ways, we can understand even better the differences between the peoples of the mountains and the plains. Nevertheless, we should not forget that as villagers the two groups hold much in common, such as their shared loyalty to their village and their tendency to be distrustful of the "outside world," particularly of the central-government officials in Athens.

THE SEA

228 If mountains and plains are disappointing in the resources they con-
433 tribute to Greece, then surely, one would think, the sea would more than
[262] compensate by providing fish in abundance. As a matter of fact, fish are
[439] an important source of protein in the Greek diet, but before the Second World War less than half of the total amount of fish eaten (35,000 to 40,000 metric tons) was caught by Greek fishermen in Greek seas. The rest had to be bought from abroad, often from neighboring countries, out of the country's meager store of foreign exchange.¹⁴ Students of the problem seem to believe that the sea around Greece is rich in fish and that the trouble lies in the failure of the authorities to promote and foster a fishing industry. The many fishing boats destroyed during the war are being replaced, though slowly.

505 The merchant marine of Greece has been through the years a source
501 of national pride. Here is one way the sea has been put to good advantage. Before World War II Greek ships totaled 1,900,000 tons and included 500 ocean-going vessels and a coastal and Mediterranean fleet of 55 large ships and 733 caiques, or small sailing boats. In 1946 there remained 138 miscellaneous ships totaling 501,000 tons. The sale of 100 liberty ships by [439] the United States government to Greek operators at one fourth of the original cost contributed much to the rebuilding of the Greek merchant marine.

Mountains, Plains, and the Sea

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marine. As of November 1957, the Greek merchant fleet numbered 541 vessels, whose tonnage totaled 1,510,535 tons. By 1961 its 1,110 ships amounted to 5,893,652 tons. 505

In addition to being a potential economic asset, the sea makes its influence felt in a psychological sense. "The Romans built roads but the Greeks always used the sea" was an observation made to me by a retired Greek admiral. The more one thinks about this simple statement of difference between two great nations of antiquity, the clearer become the varied bases for their greatness. Rome, the conqueror of the European continent and much of the Mediterranean world, held on to her territorial conquests for centuries, but the lasting conquests of ancient Greece were not those of territory, which she also conquered from time to time, but the victory of a superior culture. The Romans were administrators of subject lands; the Greeks became traders and merchants who colonized along the coasts of the whole known world, accumulated their wealth in cities, and maintained a competitive individualism much in evidence even today. 174 823 [157]

From this tradition of the sea the Greek has gained an outward look, sometimes carried to extremes. "He knows about every country but his own" commented a Westerner who had spent many years in Greece. 181 186 •

An old, old peasant put the way he felt toward the sea and what it meant to him in these words: 823

"Look over the sea," he said, pointing to the shining water in the distance. "Do you know anything farther than that? Going over the sea means going over to America. In the olden days, under the pressure of need, one stole from the other and the other fought back and killed and so got out of the country. Only the goat thieves and the peasants were left. For us village people, 'farther than the sea' means not just emigrating but also means bringing in. We can use it to improve life. Here near our village we have a waterfall and big water supply; we can have electricity and irrigation but we need scientists from across the sea to tell us how to use what we have. Then more people can live on the land and will not need to emigrate."

There are many Greeks, especially women, in isolated villages who have never seen the sea. Even for them it seems to have a deep emotional meaning, for, as one Greek folklorist explained to me, there is an unconscious worship of water all over Greece. A twenty-one-year-old peasant girl on her way to relatives in Athens rode with us from her village in the heart of the Peloponnesos. This was her first trip away from home. We stopped on the brow of a mountain while she had her first view of the sea. She who had ridden with us for many miles, shy and silent, looked out to the wide indigo horizon and cried, "Thalassa! thalassa!" (The sea! the sea!), and then subsided, wide-eyed. It was obvious to all of us that she was deeply

181 and strangely moved. Not only the majestic view affected her but the
 • 186 knowledge that this same sea had carried off to America many relatives,
 823 only a few of whom had returned. To her the actual sight of the sea meant
 a new horizon; it gave her peasant world a new dimension.

796 For the islanders the biggest celebration of the year is Epiphany (Jan-
 823 uary 6) when all of the families go down to the sea to participate in "the
 blessing of the water." The cross is thrown into the sea and boys dive for
 it, the lucky one obtaining it receiving a gift of money and considering him-
 [755] self fortunate for the coming year. This ceremony represents the baptism
 [778] of Christ, but its performance — the contact of the cross with the water —
 supposedly gives the water dipped up at the ceremony a special efficacy
 in healing sickness. It is treasured holy water. Ethnologists tell us that this
 blessing of the sea dates from pre-Christian times, another indication of
 [789] the hold of the sea on these island dwellers. It is still an island habit, when
 there are big storms at sea, to sweep the church and throw the sweepings
 into the sea to calm it; or the people may take oil from the lamp in the
 church and spread it on the water, begging the sea to quiet down.

823 The sea, like the mountains, has its own folklore. One of the most per-
 776 sistent beliefs among seamen is the presence in the deep of the sister of
 539 Alexander the Great, the Gorgon, often called the spirit of the sea." This
 legend is beautifully told by Elias Venezis, one of Greece's outstanding
 writers, in his novel *Aeolia*:

Once upon a time in the land of Greece there lived a young king, Alexander
 the Great. He had a sister called Gorgona. Alexander the Great traveled to
 distant lands, crossing many mountains and seas, and when he returned he
 brought back with him the water of immortality. He would have drunk it
 when his hour of death came, and he would never have died. He would have
 conquered all the strongholds of the world, and would have reigned forever.
 But he was not quick enough. His sister saw the water of immortality and,
 without knowing what it was, drank it. Then Alexander the Great was filled
 with rage and seized her by the hair and threw her into the sea. Ever since
 then the Gorgon lives in the sea. Her eyes are very round and she has snakes
 in her hair. Her arms are of bronze and there are golden wings on her shoulders.
 From her waist down she is a fish, and she is queen of all the other fish in the
 sea. She keeps alive the memory of the great king her brother who died when
 he was young and she always asks seafaring men she meets on her journeys:

"Is Alexander the Great still alive?"

"He is alive, and he reigns," they answer her.

[195] When she hears this, the Gorgon is filled with joy and orders the waves to
 [502] let the caique pass. But if any seaman does not know this, and tells her that
 the king is dead, then he has nothing to hope for. The Gorgon raises a typhoon
 and seizes him and his caique and its crew and drags them down with her. Then
 she rises high onto the waves again to find another sailor who can reassure her
 that her brother is living, and that Alexander the Great has never died. . . .¹⁸

The Village Setting

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even to the extent of sleeping on the portico, on the roof balcony, or anywhere else where they found it comfortable. As a matter of fact, some students of the Greek house think the court the basic element, and the other parts of the house an adaptation to it and to the other needs connected with the individual peasant's kind of agriculture. Where the court is covered with flagstones, it serves for a longer season than do those that turn to mud after the fall or spring rains begin.

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The court is separated from the street by some kind of wall or a fence of holm-oak branches. In the plains villages these walls, like the houses, are of mud brick. They too are white-washed a brilliant white on the Monday of Holy Week before Easter. Later on, when the rains come and the white-wash wears away, the walls take on a drabness that made travelers from early times on down to our day describe these plains villages as unattractive. Where the walls are well kept, where there are attractive tiled gateways — as in Macedonia — large enough for the wagon to drive through, the yards behind have a mysterious and richer look.

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The village setting is part of the Greek peasant's physical adjustment to the land. Throughout Greece there are many variations in the appearances of the settlements due to differences in terrain, location, and communication. Villages set in the shadow of a towering mountain and surrounded by a forest of firs have a snug look; those whose green trees and vines are the only cool color in a vast stretch of hot brown fields invite one to stop and rest; those which stand proudly on the brow of a hill seem to be keeping a watchful eye on the farmlands lying around. Others, perched on some airy height, dare you to climb and visit them, and anyone doing so will be surprised to find that behind the village there is a broad shoulder of the mountain which provides good farmland to those willing to live there on the heights. For many villages the dark blue sea is part of the setting, even though none of the villagers may be able to swim a stroke. Whatever the location, the villager has the deep belief that his village site is the best possible one. The water of his village is the best-tasting in the world, and in moments of homesickness when he is away from his native place he would give anything for a drink of that water again and for a chance to see the incomparable view from his village.

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423 earth" is a term really descriptive of the average peasant holding of less
178 than 10 acres, too small an area to support the average family of 5 people
[241] who try to live from its products. Put another way, 37 percent of the
farms have an area of less than 2.5 acres, and 51 percent comprise from
2.5 to 12.5 acres.¹

[369] As peasants come more and more into the orbit of the city, as they sub-
[181] stitute commercial values for their traditional agrarian values, the bond
[432] with the land loosens and their attitude toward the land undergoes a
change.² Where it once was a sacred heritage to be preserved and passed on
intact to posterity, the land tends to become a commodity to be bought and
sold; and the peasant becomes a farmer, whom one approaches differently
from a peasant, for his attitudes and values are different. Such differences
are described more fully later as part of the summing up of social changes
noted in Greece.

121 There was no way of finding out what changes were occurring among
178 the villagers in the various regions of Greece except to talk with them and
with those who work with them. Few studies had been made. People in
423 Athens, both Greek and American, guessed and speculated, sometimes
432 shrewdly, but no one could do more than point out that change was oc-
curring. So I had to go into the provinces and see for myself, being careful
to visit areas which Greeks generally agreed differed markedly from each
other. Some areas have become much more like the city than other areas,
more farmer than peasant. Others are much more in the classic peasant
mold of Hesiod's day.³

Far in the northwest corner of Greece, in Epirus, the director of agricul-
ture said:

178 The rural people here do not part willingly with their land. On the contrary,
423 because the plots are small, they are always trying to increase the size of their
holdings. At the same time, the people here have a strong trait of localism.
432 They may be offered a larger tract in another part of Greece in keeping with
some of our current resettlement programs, but the Epirote is reluctant to leave.
[186] He prefers to live on a poverty margin in the area that he knows and loves
rather than to follow the promise of a better existence elsewhere.

[166] One clue to the importance of land to the Epirote is the quarrels that
[511] families and even villages have about it. Within one hour of Ioannina there are
[578] three villages which have been arguing over a tiny bit of land for three months.
Although the land is so rocky that it is useful only for pasture, a representative
had to be sent to Constantinople to search the old records to see to whom the
land really belonged.

[369] It also happens quite frequently that Epirotes who move to Athens, and even
settle there permanently, becoming quite prosperous, won't relinquish the fields
that they own back here. They, too, still sense a certain security in the possession
of land.

The Peasant at Work

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bow to Him. Our tasks are heavy ones and most of the time we live a miserable life. What holds us in life is when we come back at night to our homes and we find our children. What holds us are our festivals, our customs, our holidays, the joys of our children and the love we bear our animals, our birthplace where we have also grown up. To drink water and to eat bread here is better than all the goods we find in the cities. Here we pass each season differently. It is different in winter, different in summer, and different in spring and fall.²²¹
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YANNES NEEDS A HORSE; ALEKOS BUYS A TRACTOR

To work their land to get their bread, the peasants need tools and equipment, draft power and seeds. I had not fully realized the severe limitations under which most Greek peasants tried to carry on in the early 1950s until I talked to Yannes in the shade of a tree just outside of Alistrate (in Macedonia). Yannes, aged twenty-nine years and dressed like most peasants of that area in brown shapeless garments, quickly came over to start a conversation with us when he saw the car come to a stop. During the few preliminaries he played with his small mustache and finally asked: 241
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Did you see me standing over there? It's not because I don't want to work. My animal is there in the team of the man plowing in that field below. He uses mine while he does his work and then I use his animal when I do my plowing. I have my own fields in 13 plots. This man using my horse works on shares; the owner of the field in which he is plowing is a tobacco commission merchant who has altogether 25 acres of good land. The owner in 1950 got 125,000 drachmas [\$8,333] to build a poultry house from the government but we haven't seen a sign of a poultry house around here. Had that money been given to the people of Alistrate to get farm animals then we all would have been much better off. Five years ago 200 of us petitioned the Agricultural Bank for draft animals but only 6 people got any. [492]
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We did not challenge his poultry-house figure or try to dispel the deep gloom in which he was immersed. But we were willing to listen. He complained about the way American aid was being spent but, when pressed for details, said that this was his impression because "he couldn't see anything being done." Perhaps those who travel around, he pointed out, might see factories going up, dams being built, but he and his people did not believe it because they had nothing tangible, such as animals or equipment. Reflecting the peasants' attitude toward urban life, he said, "Money is for the cities." During the long wait in the refreshing shade, Yannes talked about his family. [369]

"I have eight members in my family. Now we have only yogurt thinned with water for these eight people to eat. For forty-three months I was a soldier and came home thinking things would be better, but the Bulgarians

The Changing Life of the Shepherd

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will buy to put on his lead ram. Then he will pick another deep bell for his eldest ewe, but will always test it against the deepest bell for what seems to be harmony to his ear. As he buys the smaller bells with the higher sounds, he always compares each with the deepest bell. In a flock of about 200, he may have as many as 60 to 70 carefully tested bells. The sound of a flock grazing or in movement is always pleasing even to the casual passerby. But to the shepherd it is the sweetest music of all, for it is as though his own private orchestra were playing for him, telling him by each little sound much about the behavior of his flock. If one note is missing for very long, he becomes aware of it and investigates to see what is wrong. When all are ringing together, he feels his little universe is safe.

As I walked through the village, I tried to picture it in the cold and empty winter. Obviously, the people from Valtetsi scatter out quite widely once they get below. What kind of community can they maintain with such a migration pattern? The shepherd's answers to queries about organizational life gave a rough sketch of the Valtetsi community.

Like other villages, they have the village council. The president of the council, who happens to run a coffeehouse, must stay in the village throughout the year. He can, on occasion, get a two-week leave from the prefect in Tripolis.

"Suppose he owned livestock," I asked, "and had to take them to winter pastures below. What would he do?"

"Other members of his family would have to take care of the animals for him and he would remain here."

Local elections are postponed from winter until the return of most of the people in the spring. But for national elections the men leave the flocks with their womenfolk and older children and walk all the way back up to the village to cast their ballots.

Valtetsi also has its school board, church board, and a livestock cooperative that helps its members get some credit from the Agricultural Bank, with their flocks as collateral (it serves no marketing function). Yet the migration pattern affects even these organizations, for at the time of my visit the cooperative president had not yet returned from his winter's sojourn on the plain nor had all of the board members for the church or the school.

In spite of the periodic absence of its inhabitants, the loyalty to Valtetsi is strong. Not the least of village distinctions was the Battle of Valtetsi, in which local people claim that in 1821 the first victorious army of Greeks under Kolokotrones rose up against the Turks. Since the soldiers believed that the Virgin had aided that victory, taking part just as Hera and Athena did with their forces deployed in the Trojan War, a special church to the Virgin was built in the village in 1837. One of the most heinous

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[773] ing abyss below, with their children clasped in their arms. "Farewell ye springs, ye forests, ye mountain-ridges" begins the folksong which accompanies this dance.* Thus the dance keeps alive in the memory of the people what their forebears suffered under the alien Turks. The *zervos*, another syrtos dance, is "left-handed" in that the dancers move from left to right rather than in the customary direction from right to left.

Perhaps the most picturesque leaping dance is the *tsamikos* of Epirus, the region where the Souliote women lived. In dancing this even today the men sometimes wear their small arms as they used to many years ago, reminiscent of the ancient Pyrrhic armed dances. This dance and the *zalongos*, mentioned above, have done much to re-emphasize the stereotyped image common throughout Greece that Epirus is a place of violence, heroic men and women, and a fortress of the independent spirit. Other leaping dances derive from the *klephts*, or guerrillas who fought against the Turks before Northern Greece gained her independence in this century. The chief dance in Thessaly is the *karagouna*, probably Wallachian in origin; the *yerakina*, which is a Thracian dance, has also become popular throughout Greece.

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177 [522] The most common example of the mixed type is the *hasapikos*, or butchers' dance, which comes down from Byzantine times when the butchers' guild used this dance on its feast days. Whereas many of the other dances are stately or heroic, this one provides an outlet for considerable comic activity by dancers so inclined. In other words, there are dances to suit everyone's taste and it is up to the leader, who pays the musicians, to call for the dance he wants and at which he is most adept. Certain dances are prescribed for certain occasions but, once the formalities have been observed, other dances can be chosen. It is disconcerting to a visitor, who has been held entranced by the color, intricacies, and ancient lineage of the folk dances, to hear the orchestra strike up some American popular music of twenty or twenty-five years ago and then see the young people shift from the round dances to dancing in couples. Young men who have displayed great agility in their leaps in a klephtic dance now have to be led like sheep by the girls who have taken the trouble to learn a few of the new steps; or if the girls do not know the steps either, the boy, usually a beat or two behind the music, tries to imitate the movements of some good dancer.

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[521] Thus festival days bring everything one could ask to a village: dances old and new, visitors of every description, wares not often sold locally, and an occasion to eat and drink to one's full capacity without fear of criticism. Most of all, it gives the community a chance to have its day in the sun, to be the cynosure of the surrounding territory, and to store up incidents which family members and neighbors can talk about in the days ahead.

000 "Oikismos-astyphilia" (Housing and Urbanism), *Megale Hellenike Enkyklopaideia* (Large Greek Encyclopaedia), X (Athens, 1934), 412-413; and Angelike Chatzemitichale, "Architektonike" (Architecture), *ibid.*, pp. 826-827. See also G. A. Megas, *The Greek House. Its Evolution and its Relation to the Houses of Other Balkan Peoples* (Athens, 1951).

12. Papaspyropoulos, "Folklore of Kleitoria."

13. Megas, *The Greek House*, pp. 6, 8.

CHAPTER IV. LAND AS A BIRTHRIGHT

1. Figures for size of farm are taken from *Statistical Summary of Greece, 1954*. These figures differ somewhat from those quoted in *Greece Today* (August 1954), which is published monthly by the National Bank of Greece and Athens. The latter places 27 percent of the farms at less than 2.5 acres and 57.5 percent between 2.5 and 12.5 acres. See also *Labour Problems in Greece: Report of the Mission of the International Labour Office to Greece, Oct.-Nov. 1947* (Geneva, 1949).

[776] 2. Anyone familiar with Greek mythology will find it tempting to try to link the peasant's present attachment to his land with the folk beliefs about "the mistress of the world," which J. C. Lawson, in his *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge, Eng., 1910), links with Demeter or Kore, or both. "She is a real person, not the personification of any natural force. The tiller of the land foresees his yearly gain from cornfield and vineyard; the shepherd on the mountainside expects the yearly increase of his flock; but by neither is any principle inferred therefrom, much less is such a principle personified; the blessing which rests on field and fold is the work of a living goddess' hand" (p. 89). Even more to the point may be the early belief in the earth as the mother because she is the fruit bearer. See J. E. Harrison, *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion* (Cambridge, Eng., 1912), pp. 166-167.

Conceivably, these cultural survivals could explain part of the hold on many peasants of the belief that land is sacred, that it should be kept as a family heritage, that it is the source of life's security; but this would not help us understand the regional variations in Greece today or the differing points of view between the older and younger generations within the same region. Obviously, economic considerations are greatly altering the picture.

• [186] 3. Another point needing further study in the Greek villages is the degree to which the seeming attachment to the soil is really that or, instead, a strong sense of localism, an attachment to a *place*. The travelers for generations through Greece have commented on this localism, which found its early expression in the city-state as opposed to an over-all *imperium*. It is possible that with many Greek peasants this localistic spirit, such as that noted for Epirus, is based on psychological attachments to things and persons quite apart from the soil.

4. See Panos D. Bardin, "The Changing Family in Modern Greece," *Sociology and Social Research*, XL (1955), 19-23.

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[583] 5. Bruce Lansdale reminded me that the farmer who puts in a vineyard is probably thinking in terms of his children more than himself and that the man who puts in an olive tree is probably thinking in terms of his grandchildren. In certain areas of Greece it is customary to plant a tree for the dowry of the daughter. There are also differences in attitudes toward land between the native peasant and the refugees from Asia Minor, for many refugees do not yet have the actual deed to their land.

[175] 6. What happened in Epirus under the Turks must have occurred in many parts of Greece. When the Turks first overran Epirus, the villages were independent, but the Turkish government placed a Turkish military protector in charge of a locality. This official said: "In order for us to keep you secure, you have to pay 10 percent in kind." Then it rose to 15, 20, and even up to 33 percent. When the peasants could not pay these high taxes, the officials took over the land and became large land-

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prostitution are found in villages. One or more women with "loose morals" may live in the village and be visited by the men. In the town or city the person who introduces village girls into prostitution is apt to be a fairly young widow who seeks this as a means of support.

3. William Miller, *Greek Life in Town and Country* (London, 1903), p. 93:

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4. Around Philorina, in western Macedonia, boys marry older girls, since fewer women are available. This is a Slavic-speaking area where the women work more in the fields. In most Greek villages it is considered undesirable for a man to marry an older woman.

5. In one group of twenty-five soldiers from different villages, six reported that there was no promenade in their village, although each of the six knew of its existence elsewhere. The remaining nineteen said that they had the promenade.

6. Matchmakers, the proxenetres, still exist today, according to a clipping from the *Athens News*, November 23, 1952: "Athanasia Markou arranged marriages. That is to say, she was what they call a 'proxenetra.' A short time ago she had as a client one Irene who wanted to get her first cousin, Maria, married. Markou undertook to find a husband, and introduced Irene's cousin Maria to her own brother. The marriage took place, but the agreed fee to the 'proxenetra' was not paid, and Markou tried to dissolve the marriage out of anger."

7. A statement of the connection between dowry practices, attitudes toward land tenure, and the status of a son-in-law living in his wife's paternal home is found in Ernestine Friedl, "Dowry and Inheritance in Modern Greece," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, XXII, ser. 2 (November 1959).

8. One important reason why a young woman prefers a shopkeeper or artisan from a town or city is the fact that she will be relieved of the drudgery of farm work.

9. Bardis, "Main Features of the Greek Family," pp. 17, 20.

10. D. Loukopoulos, *Laographia*, XII (1938).

CHAPTER IX. CEREMONIES AND HOLY DAYS

1. See D. Loukopoulos, *Laographia*, XII (1938).

2. See William Miller, *Greek Life in Town and Country*, p. 96.

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3. Miller, *Greek Life*, p. 73, correctly points out that the strong particularism, or local loyalty, found in Greece is often given expression in the local saint's day which heightens clannishness.

4. Agnes Diamantopoulos, "Greek Dances of Today and the Dances of Ancient Greece: A Comparison," *Hellenia*, XXI (January-March 1933), 9. On Easter Tuesday the people of Megara dance the *trata*, an ancient dance depicting the motions of the fishermen hopefully hauling in their nets.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

6. After this material had been written, there appeared a volume in English by George A. Megas under the title *Greek Calendar Customs* (Athens, 1956). It is a valuable source book for anyone wishing to understand the rural customs associated with various holidays. For an interesting description of the holidays in a village of Central Greece, see V. G. Valaoras, *E laographia tou chorou mou: Perista, Navpaktias* (The Folklore of My Village: Perista, Naupaktias) (Thessalonike, 1939).

7. See Anne Anthony, *Meet the Greeks* (Athens, 1950), for an excellent description of holidays of particular interest to the foreigner living in Athens. This small book is a most useful orientation to Greek life.

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8. These facts about specific holidays are taken from St. P. Kyriakidis, "Erotimata dia ten laiken lateian" (Questions Concerning Popular Worship), *Laographia*, XI (1937), 659-677. Although I have not personally witnessed all of these customs in Greek villages, I have seen almost every one of them observed by other nationalities of the Orthodox faith.

9. For further details about the kallikantzar, see G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folk-*

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The Village: As a Setting

THE VILLAGE OF VASILIKA lies almost at the foot of Mt. Parnassos on the Boeotian plain. The oldest of its fifty-odd houses were built in the late nineteenth century by the grandfathers of some of the now adult villagers. Most of them came from the village of Parori two miles to the north-east. Until 1933, when Vasilika sued for and won separate status, the two settlements were classified by the central government as one community (*kinosis*). The parent village still has the larger population, with some 700 inhabitants, while Vasilika, in 1955-1956, had 216. 361
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Both Vasilika and Parori have come to be called by these names only since 1955. During the Turkish occupation, and for more than a century after the liberation of the region, the Boeotian villages used the names the Turks had assigned to them. Parori was Biskeni Aghas; Vasilika was Kravasaras. But in the last decade, patriotic considerations have led to a change from the old names to ones based on Greek roots. *Parori*, in Greek, means "near a mountain" and is an appropriate name for a village which rests in the foothills of Parnassos. *Vasilika* means "royal" and was the name of a hill in the region where a famous battle against the Turks was fought. In some cases, the names by which the villages were known in classical Greek times were restored. Drachmani, for example, once again became Elatia. 621
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Most of the villagers of Vasilika, in 1961, still called the village "Kravasaras." Indeed, the new sign pointing to the dirt road which leads into the settlement reads *Kravasaras*, in spite of the designation of the village in the provincial records as *Vasilika*. This type of double nomenclature is common in the entire region. The wives of Vasilika, most of whom come from the surrounding Boeotian villages, frequently refer to their former houses by their older Turkish names. These are the names which evoke for them the emotions associated with "my village." Their husbands, on the other hand, often refer to their wives' home villages by the newly given names. An outsider must resign himself to learning the double nomenclature if he is to avoid utter confusion.

104 • THE VILLAGE: AS A COMMUNITY

621 tional activities, although ultimately controlled in Athens, function through dif-
631 ferent organizational channels. The unity that might be achieved by overlapping
personnel in a village as small as Vasilika is not, in fact, achieved because each
of the formal divisions has its own leadership. Some degree of concurrence exists,
however, as a result of the tendency for the leaders in each of these spheres,
except the governmental, to remain relatively permanent. The priest has been
the religious leader of the community for a generation, the former secretary of
the council had been in office for twenty years, the school teacher has been there
[208] for ten years, and so on. Nevertheless, officials who want to persuade Vasilika's
population to some new course of action know that they cannot succeed by
persuading the formal leaders only, or even the influential older men only,
but must convince each head of a family, as well, if they are to get widespread
compliance.

621 It would seem as though the formal organization of the village, and
476 the family activities which so often lead out of the village and separate the
571 interests of each family from those of others in the settlement, prevent the
life-long daily associations of the men of the village from producing a driving
force for enthusiastic joint action for village-wide goals. Nor does the system
of voluntary, impermanent dyadic contracts between individuals produce any
large groups with a sense of solidarity. As the foregoing has shown, then, there
are activities which focus the attention of all the villagers but there is little
active village-wide cooperation for village enterprises.

621 Yet this situation seems to conflict with the professed attitude of
• 186 Vasilika's inhabitants toward their village and region. The villagers speak of
Vasilika in the way Greeks from other villages speak of their home communi-
ties. A man or woman's *patridha*, that is, his village of origin in this context
(*patridha* may mean Greece as one's nation of origin in contrast with other
nations), is always recommended as a place to visit. People frequently men-
tioned certain qualities of their home villages which were worthy of praise.
The air and the water, they would say, are clean, in the sense of pure and
sweet, and these characteristics, they thought, made the village a healthy place,
and, by extension, potentially therapeutic for anyone. The people of one's own
[609] village were *endopyi* (home folks) in contrast to *kseni* (strangers), and the
term *kseni* was used equally to refer to a man from Parori two miles away,
and to us from the United States thousands of miles distant.

186 *Kseni*, people not living in Vasilika, were described as thieves and as
609 inhospitable. We were consistently told to lock our automobile in other villages,
123 and also consistently told that it was not necessary to do so in Vasilika. Indeed,
685 both with respect to other villages and within Vasilika itself, a distrust of others
621 was most frequently expressed by saying that the villagers in question were
thieves, and it was an accusation not meant lightly. On two occasions before we
understood the situation, when we mislaid a pair of scissors and some clothes-
pins, we asked the family with which we lived whether any one of them had seen
the lost items. The family construed the question as an accusation that they had
stolen the items from us, and it took several hours of reassuring conversation
to convince them that we had meant nothing of the kind. Evidence suggests that

THE VILLAGERS AS GREEKS · 105

an individual's or family's *filotimo* would be considered severely damaged if they stole from a stranger to whom hospitality had been offered; in fact, such thefts are very rare in any Greek village. Within Vasilika itself, there was some petty filching now and then, but it did not occur on the scale one would have expected from the frequent references to theft and thieving in conversation.

The inhospitality of people in other places was a frequent topic of conversation at the homes of those celebrating name days. A man could always raise a laugh by describing the ludicrously meager food and drink provided at a wedding or name day celebration he had attended at another village. Usually in response to any questions about the occurrence in Vasilika of deviant behavior, or of some form of discord, or of some moral transgression, the villagers began by making a general statement of denial. Such things happened in other villages, they would say, but not in Vasilika.

It would seem from the foregoing that Vasilika's population did, indeed, identify itself with the village as an entity. Vasilika is their *patrida*, and it must be thought to have good qualities, I believe, because the village's qualities reflect on its inhabitants both in their status as individuals and as families. Pride in the village, then, may be an extension of pride in oneself or one's family, and the functional consequences for village-wide enterprises of the existence of such pride depend on the strength of the competing sources of satisfaction.

In Vasilika, since farms may be maintained by the labor of the elementary family with only periodic requirements for a larger labor force, since sons and daughters leave the village and yet maintain relationships with those still in Vasilika, and since individuals can expect to give and to receive protection from their families, the forces leading toward either independence or family solidarity would appear to be strong enough to leave little energy for village-centered activities as a method of augmenting self-esteem. Nevertheless, the village as an entity constitutes a permanent potential source of satisfaction for its inhabitants, and now and then, under certain circumstances, the village itself becomes the primary object of loyalty for its population and commands some sacrifice. The boundary dispute with Parori was such an occasion for Vasilika. Moreover, any individual can, if he wishes, use his energies when he occupies an official position to gain improvements for the village as a means of enhancing his own self-esteem and of gaining the respect of the villagers, as long as he does not do so at the expense of his own children. The people of Vasilika are entirely willing to enjoy and to speak proudly of the electricity, or the piped water, or the better roads in Vasilika, once they have obtained them, even if they are not always willing to work together to achieve the improvements.

But Vasilika, as a village, must compete with another focus of loyalty for its inhabitants besides the family: Greekness itself—and the Greek nation as a political entity. The villagers' awareness of and pride in their Greekness is profound. In 1956 when we were questioning the children as to what they wanted to be when they grew up, several boys answered that they hoped God would let them grow strong and sturdy so that they could be good soldiers and go to "Fight for Cyprus." Moreover, the villagers associate certain qualities with Greek ethnicity: the desire for political independence and the willingness

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FRIEDL]

Kinship in Greece

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ambivalence that is usually found in mobile societies between participants in different levels of culture and occupants of different prestige and power levels in the social structure. I do not suggest a relationship entirely free of suspicion or jealousy, but there is considerable evidence that the villagers take substantial pride in the very fact that their urban kin have a social position of greater prestige. The latter often view their country relatives with no more than a mildly paternal condescension. Charges of urban snobishness on the one hand, and of peasant crudeness on the other, are usually reserved for those outside the circle of one's own kin.

The line of urban cultural influence, then, runs something like this: New ideas and attitudes, and changes in style of life, are brought to the notice of a village family by its urban relatives. However, if a village household adopts at least some of the new traits, it is only partly because of the respect which it pays to its urban kin. A more powerful influence is often the strong sense of competition which the rural household feels toward other village families, on which it hopes to score a point by showing superior sophistication. Those village families which have no urban relatives gradually try to copy the behavior of those which do. Some degree of urban influence stemming from urban relatives of villagers therefore penetrates the entire village community.

Such competition for prestige often encourages spending beyond the boundaries of economic wisdom, quite on the "keeping up with the Joneses" pattern. So the resources of the villagers may be used for elegant urban-style clothes which are attractive at Easter but are soon afterwards worn for ordinary work. A lightweight wool dress, for example, is unwearable in a few months after having been washed several times in hot water and pounded with a paddle to release the soil and other dirt which clings to it. The same sort of thing holds for men's shoes. They are standard city shoes which are worn for heavy farm work throughout the year with no boots or other protection from the weather. However, it is also significant that the imitation of urban styles accounts for other kinds of innovations. For example, it has become fashionable to build new-style privies which are an improvement on the sanitary facilities in the village. The new type has a concrete floor which slopes down toward a center hole, or has a specially made ceramic fixture incorporating the slope and center hole, instead of movable wooden floor boards arranged to leave a space in the center—or, of course, no privy at all. There is also a new fashion in the building in which such facilities are housed. If possible, it will now be constructed of brick rather than of wattle and daub or of reed. To give another instance, the imitation of urban styles has also undoubtedly contributed to the increasing willingness of the villagers to be hospitalized for serious illness (Friedl 1958).

The description of continuous face-to-face contact with village relatives given in this paper holds well for at least the generation that has itself left the village, and for its children. The grandchildren of those who left the village for the towns will, when they become adult, make fewer visits back to the village, and the ties of association between country and city relatives gradually loosen with the passage of time. But, since social mobility is a continuing phenomenon

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GRAVE AND DIFFERENT GARMENTS

mean a making—or that the other “Garments and Accoutrements” of the clergy are “very Glorious and different”. The widespread devastation of the last few years has left many a village church denuded of its liturgical vestments and other furnishings.

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The dioceses of Thrace and eastern Macedonia suffered particularly heavily in this respect at the hands of the Bulgarian bishops and clergy who swarmed into these unhappy provinces in the wake of the German armies. Thus, in the diocese of Alexandroupolis, all the episcopal vestments used by the Metropolitan, the Lord Ioakeim, were stolen by the Bulgarian Metropolitan of Philippopolis; while the cathedral church of St. Nicolas, the church of the Dormition in the Isle of Samothrace, and many village churches, were looted by the Bulgarian clergy. Other dioceses in this part of New Greece suffered no less heavily: the cathedral churches at Siderokastro and Serres (to take two examples at random) being plundered of all their liturgical vestments, as well as the important monasteries of Eikosiphoinisses, in the diocese of Drama, and that of the Prodromos near Serres, to the pillage of which I have already referred.

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During the winter of 1949-50, when many of the refugee clergy were returning to their villages after an interval of three years or more, to minister in churches which had been wholly destroyed, or looted and perhaps turned into stables or field-hospitals by the Communists, the Archbishop of Athens appealed to all those parishes of Greece which still possessed anything over and above their essential requirements in liturgical books, vessels, vestments, etc., to come to the aid of those who had been less fortunate than themselves.

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The need was great indeed. To the ordinary Greek Christian who worships Sunday by Sunday in his parish church it is but fitting that those who minister in the house of God—which is in truth a heaven upon earth—should be adorned with raiment of a finer and costlier making than suffices for the mere performance of one's daily liturgy, and the absence of the usual accessories of liturgical worship inevitably induces a more acute sense of deprivation than would be felt in similar circumstances by Christians of other traditions.

In this point [says Dr. Covel] they look askew even upon us English, for not being so Gaudy, Stately and Ceremonious in our Offices as themselves; though we are Episcopally Ordained, and have grave and different Garments for all sorts of our Clergy in their various

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THE WATERS OF MARAH

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degrees, from the Primates and Metropolitans down to the lowest Order of Deacons . . . and if we English Churchmen are lookt upon by the Easterlings in this Point, but as Mongrels or half primitive Clergy-men at the best, how odious and abominable must the Calvinists appear to them, when they shall be told . . . that there is no such outward Pomp, or any reverend or decent Garments used in their divine Offices amongst them; their Ministers are not Episcopally ordain'd, and they wear only a common black Cloak and a Coat or Jump.

The Greek Church has never known a vestiarian controversy. The *phelonion*, richly wrought with gold and silver though it be, has never, like the western vestment and the comely surplice, served to kindle polemical ardour. It is evident to all men that the earthly ministers of Christ should be clothed in such apparel as becomes their high calling: to celebrate the divine mysteries in a common black cloak or Calvinistic "jump" would be indecent, a breach of good manners—like going to a formal banquet in one's workaday clothes.

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It is not a little startling to turn from the controversies about vestments and lights and incense which continue to agitate many western Christians, to a church where these things are used quite simply and naturally and without occasioning the slightest comment. The Greek attitude towards the liturgical use of incense does indeed afford a peculiarly striking instance of the dangers awaiting the Frankish controversialist who seeks to butt up his tottering defences with unwary borrowings from beyond the Adriatic shores. Amongst the Greeks incense is used at every service, from the most elaborate of pontifical liturgies to a simple ceremony such as the blessing of a house. To do otherwise would be thought irreverent: if any custom can claim to be evangelical it is surely this. Did not the Lord God Himself command Moses his servant:

Take unto thee sweet spices, stacte, and onycha, and galbanum; these sweet spices with pure frankincense: of each shall there be a like weight. And thou shalt make it a perfume, a confection after the art of the apothecary, tempered together, pure and holy. And thou shalt beat some of it very small, and put of it before the testimony in the tabernacle of the congregation where I will meet with thee: it shall be unto you most holy.

[Town Life]

COUNTRY AND PEOPLE

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Greece, far more so than in the United States, so that a cousin or uncle who has set himself up in town will expect to help his relatives to find a footing in town when they attempt to make the escape from the land, and will also expect to be received back into the family if dire necessity should ever compel him to abandon his town career. Family ties of this sort provide a bond between town and country, extending to the second or even the third generation.

The psychological relationship between town and country is, however, subtle and complex. A peasant regards a man who has no land as something less than a full man; at the same time, most peasants envy what they feel to be the easier, richer and more stimulating life led by townsfolk, and especially by Athenians. Town dwellers, characteristically, regard themselves as far more intelligent, better informed and more civilized than the peasants. Yet elements of peasant outlook still survive among them, particularly the burning desire to own a house and a bit of land on which to plant a grape arbor and raise flowers or a few vegetables.

In town a man's most important relations are with outsiders, while in the village, relations within the family and a circle of relatives dominate daily life. In town, people must buy and sell every day, and the market relationship is shot through with antagonism, since it appears that in any immediate situation one party's gain is the other's loss. Prolonged bargaining — typical of any purchase, even of vegetables in the street — expresses this attitude; and the chicanery and high markups generally characteristic of Greek business are a consequence of the same spirit which sees in any outsider a legitimate victim, to be fleeced if possible. In village life, where market relations are merely occasional, mutual help and cooperation within the family circle provide the matrix of daily living. To be sure, outside the family circle, Greek peasants can be just as ruthless as

x 178 established a sort of colony of its own. Girls have been left behind, to pine as old maids, or else to marry some boy from one of the even poorer villages high in the hills — boys who are prepared to come down and cultivate the olive trees belonging to the families of the absent young men in return for a share of the crop.

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[427] One of the grievances that other Greeks have against the Maniotes (as people from Mani are called), and against the Peloponnesians in general, is that they dominate the civil service of the country. There is some truth in this complaint. The

[665] population of these parts has never quarreled with the powers that be; the people are nearly all royalist and conservative. And [186] they cultivate, to a degree remarkable even among the Greeks, a clannishness which leads them to help one another as against

[625] natives of other parts of Greece. The gendarmerie, for example, is recruited in disproportionate part from among Maniotes, and the same is true of several other branches of the governmental service. It is, therefore, a bit easier for a person from this section to get a government job than it would be for a man from another part of the country. Villages like Yerolimini make the most of this fact. It looks as though Kardamili, a bit belatedly, is attempting to do the same. But one cannot help wondering what will happen when the graduates of Kardamili and Nea Eleftherohori and of hundreds of similar villages begin to compete for positions in the government. There can hardly be room for them all.

x 178 If these six villages were well chosen, if their reactions to the difficulties of the last few years in Greece represent widespread phenomena and not merely local idiosyncracies, then it seems clear that neither American nor Greek official policy has been able to do much to solve the problems of the hill villages. If a peaceable solution is to come, it seems probable that it will

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introduced under the direction of the Rockefeller Foundation. In the thirties, the dictator Metaxas introduced a number of changes by fiat, which ran counter to Greek values, but many of which were accepted gratefully by people wearied of political dissension and lack of leadership. World War II, with its displacements and destruction and enemy occupation, the work of UNRRA and the Greek War Relief, and more recently, of the POS agency of the ECA, have all been agents of change. [198] [199] [127]

There are many kinds of Greeks. The million or so Greeks who came from Turkey and Russia in the twenties differ from the so-called "old Greeks". The city Greeks consider themselves very different from the peasants. There is a vogue for peasant handicrafts but not for peasant attitudes. Urban Greeks like to take on the ways of foreigners, to use the products of technology, even the processed foods of technology. Many French and English words are used in their speech. They take on the attitudes of the Western World, using clocked time in business and living a life relatively pressed for time, adopting to some extent the Western scientific approach and objective external limits, instead of the more animistic approach and the body-patterned limits of traditional Greek culture. There are lectures here on health and hygiene, on child care and co-operation and nutrition. In Athens, the music and the drama are excellent, and in line with Euro-American developments. There is rapid transportation. There are many associations based on foreign patterns: the YMCA and the YWCA, the Girl Guides and the Boy Scouts, football groups and hiking groups. There are foreign attitudes about travel: people go to tour the country or the world, instead of going to visit a relative or a family friend or a miraculous shrine. The difference reaches its greatest intensity as between the educated Greeks and the peasants, who, though literate, have no high education. [184] [179] [369] [262] [192] [805] [544] [575] [484]

People of different regions have a different way of life. The mountainous terrain, the absence of easy communication except coast-wise, differences in dialect and local history, and, most of all, the extreme personal independence of the people, have fostered tremendous variation from place to place. To the world at large, a man may be a Greek, but to other Greeks, he is a Macedonian, an Arcadian, or an Epirot. More than this, he comes from a particular village of which he is very proud and for whose honour he competes with other villages. In the United States, Greeks from one village, such as Mani, have organized themselves in a nationwide organization. People from one small island speak of the people of the neighbouring island as queer or ill-mannered. This is as it should be; in Greek culture it is good for everyone to be different or, as the Greeks put it, to be individually formed. [184] [186] [487]

The differences are there but the similarities are more basic. The Athenians, working by clock time, strain at their bonds, and do not [184] [369] [805]

184 allow time to dictate to them in private life; and Athenian newspapers,
 369 announcing the hour of the lecture, have to remind people that it
 [805] is important to be prompt at such affairs. When they deviate from
 [109] old Greek ways and values, they often do so with awareness and with
 regret, and the deviation is not profound.

VIEW OF THE SELF

156 Foremost in the Greek's view of the self is his self-esteem. It is im-
 554 possible to have good relations with Greeks unless one is aware of
 579 this, the Greek *philotimo*. It is important to pay tribute to it, and to
 avoid offending it, or, as the Greeks say, molesting it. Everyone has
 his *philotimo*, as an individual, as a member of a family, and, most of
 all, as a Greek. On this rests Greek individualism, since it is sheer
 being which is respected, not position in the world or achievement.
 On this rests Greek democracy and equality, since everyone, both
 as a person and as a Greek, is equal to everyone else, neither superior
 [643] nor inferior. Any Greek bootblack is equal to the king, to whom
 he may refer familiarly as *coumbaros*, wedding sponsor, until some
 political agitator points out to him that the king is not Greek by
 descent, and therefore does not merit loyalty or respect as an equal.
 This does not mean that there is lacking a balance of roles or inter-
 personal structuring; but these relationships of interdependence, of
 leader and followers, of division of areas of responsibility and work,
 are not cast in the mould of superiority and inferiority. Inferiority
 comes only with the forfeiting of the *philotimo*.

156 On the *philotimo* also rests Greek nationalism. A man may be
 619 ignorant and poor, but when his country is threatened, it is his right
 186 and privilege to shed his blood on the altar of Greek freedom along
 579 with every other Greek, whatever his district, however wealthy or
 educated. Again, he shares with every other Greek a common glorious
 past. A small island, speaking of its illustrious sons, lists the New York
 chiropractor of today next to the philosopher of 2,400 years ago.
 A Greek, speaking about his culture, makes statements such as:
 "The Greeks have been hospitable since the time of Homer." Even
 learned treatises, such as a paper on present-day medicine, often
 begin with the glorious work of the ancient Greek thinkers. This is
 what each Greek esteems in himself, what constitutes his *philotimo*:
 his personal being, his status within a family, village, district, and,
 second to none, his Greekness.

156 The Greek *philotimo* is easily bruised, or molested; and a Greek
 195 addressed in a completely objective manner, or hearing himself or
 579 his way of life described in harsh scientific terms, is greatly offended.
 Where an American journalist or scientist, writing about his culture,
 feels the need to be objective, to uncover the facts, a Greek presents